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SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

SUPPLEMENT

"PRINCE SAIONJI AND THE LONDON
NAVAL DISARMAMENT TREATY"

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The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 9

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Translated by Mr. Mikio Asano

Prince SAIONJI had planned to return to Gotemba from Okitsu on the 20th. Therefore, early in the morning of that day, I went to Gotemba; I accompanied the Prince from Gotemba to Okitsu on the 11 o'clock train. During this trip, Prince SAIONJI referred to a passage in the last half of the speech President INUKAI had made at the Party Convention of the Seiyukai on the 16th: "The London Treaty must be abrogated." Prince SAIONJI said: "Why in the world did President INUKAI (of Seiyukai) make such a speech?"

According to what I heard: The original intention of the Seiyukai was that the Premier should devote his speech to measures for coping with the depression and for attacking the Government's financial policies. HORIKIRI, Zembei had prepared that part of INUKAI's speech in which the Government's financial policies were attacked. The President (INUKAI) had no intention originally of making the last part of the speech; however, he was compelled to add the portion for abrogating the Treaty to his original draft of the speech by the strong request of the SUZUKI faction.

The SUZUKI faction is directly affiliated with that of HIRANUMA, the Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council. HIRANUMA had from the beginning been an active proponent of discarding the Treaty; he was active in the movement for preventing the ratification of the Treaty. At the same time, he felt that should he persist in this attitude, the Cabinet would inevitably collapse. Consequently it

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was natural that the SUZUKI faction, which is directly inspired by HIRANUMA, should attempt to overthrow the Cabinet by forcing INUKAI to include this matter in his speech.

I recalled that MORI, the Secretary-General of the Seiyukai, had frequently telephoned me, and also had said to me when we met: "The Cabinet will be overthrown by this issue (London Disarmament Treaty). To recommend to the Emperor the ratification of the Treaty, which would not guarantee Japan's national defense, is in itself tantamount to deceiving the young Emperor. This is not a thing for a person loyal to His Majesty to do." He also said: "It is clearly evident that the former Naval General Staff Headquarters Chief, KATO, had not consented (to the ratification of the Treaty) from the fact that he had reported, from the standpoint of the Naval General Staff (that he was opposed to the Treaty) to the Emperor, on the day following that on which the Premier had recommended the ratification of the Treaty. And as a result of this, the Government is now in great difficulty in securing the approval of the Privy Council (to the Treaty). Without doubt, the present Cabinet (HAMAGUCHI Cabinet) will invariably collapse within 4 or 5 days."

To this, I had replied: "I doubt it. I don't think that the Cabinet will change on the issue of this treaty." MORI seemed exceedingly skeptical of what I said; he stated: "There seems to be a fundamental discrepancy between the information we secure and that of the Foreign Office and yourself." I replied: "Your information is strongly colored by your personal desires."

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Returning from Okitsu on the 20th, I went to see, on the following day, MORI (Yaku), at the Seiyukai Headquarters. MORI said: "Since the situation has come to such a pass, starting tomorrow, the Seiyukai will devote itself wholly to the movement for overthrowing the Cabinet."

This misguided action on the part of the Seiyukai can be ascribed to the misleading propaganda of the HIRANUMA faction. At that time, the Privy Council was endeavoring to clarify the reason why the Japanese Government had not qualified with conditions the main points of the Treaty; there had been no need for the Government to be seriously worried over the matter. It would have been passed eventually by the Privy Council.

On the morning of the 23rd, KODAMA, Kenji, the President of the Yokohama Specie Bank, came to see me; he said: "There has been propaganda to the effect that this London Treaty would be stranded in the Privy Council and never be ratified; and consequently, the present Cabinet would be overthrown and the succeeding Cabinet, in which the Seiyukai would come into power, would again place an embargo upon the export of gold, or devalue the currency. Moreover, according to the rumors; The present depression can be ascribed to the Minseito Cabinet, which had lifted the embargo on the export of gold; this policy of the Minseito Cabinet is one of its greatest political mistakes.

"The propaganda that in order to remedy the situation, either an embargo on the export of gold, or a devaluation of the currency, will have to be effectuated, has caused financial fear and speculation. As a result of this, 10 million yen in gold exchange flowed out of the country.

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This greatly troubled the Yokohama Specie Bank. When (Chairman ITO's) report, favoring the ratification of the London Treaty, was presented to the Examination Committee of the Privy Council on the 17th, the political situation in general became stabilized; and the demand for foreign exchange in gold, from the following day, decreased to less than 1 million yen per day. The fear of embargo on gold exportation had been dispelled and consequently, speculation disappeared. Recently, in order to maintain our foreign credits, that is in order to meet our foreign payments, it has been decided to send 5 million yen in gold on every regular scheduled ship of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, leaving after the 26th of September. At the same time, a statement explaining the reason for this action will be issued."

In reviewing the situation which prevailed at that time, when gold was vigorously flowing out of the country at the rate of 10 million yen per day, MORI had told me: "Meet KODAMA of the Yokohama Specie Bank and ask him (about the current banking situation). Gold is flowing out of the country at an exorbitant rate. The Seiyukai can hardly be expected to condone the prevailing situation. We are going to take strong action (to overthrow the Minseito Cabinet)." It is evident now that the cause of the outflow of gold has been the propaganda of Seiyukai. Consequently, I felt that MORI had been telling me a very inconsistent, illogical story (in which he had perverted the cause and effect of the matter).

On the 24th, I visited MIZUMACHI, the Privy Councillor. With his permission I copied, with the understanding that

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it would be shown only to Prince SAIONJI, the report (prepared by Chairman ITO) which had been distributed to the Examination Committee members of the Privy Council. The report was based on the fundamental proposition that: "The Privy Council will trust implicitly the responsible words of the Government, etc." The wording of the report was rather offensively patronizing. It stated such facts as: Because the Irish Problem is still an unsettled issue, Great Britain won't be able to ratify it until after November; and consequently there is no need for Japan to ratify the Treaty in a hurry. The report also expatiated to an unnecessary extent on the issue of the Imperial Prerogative of Supreme Command; I felt that too many unnecessary matters were contained in the report. However, Privy Councillor MIZUMACHI said: "The report is well prepared; the wording indicates the painstaking labor of Count ITO, (Privy Councillor), expended in wording the excellent report." MIZUMACHI, the Privy Councillor further added: "I feel that ITO (the chairman of the Examination Committee of the Privy Council), had decided to make a volte-face about the 15th. And it seems that he did not say anything to HIRANUMA, the Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council, about this decision of his. Otherwise, HIRANUMA, Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council, would not have instigated SUZUKI to urge INUKAI to propose the abrogation of the London Treaty in the speech he (INUKAI) had made at the Seiyukai Convention held on the 16th, in spite of the fact that he (HIRANUMA) was an active proponent for abrogating the Treaty and felt that the present Cabinet would invariably collapse if it should not be ratified. It seems that on this matter, HIRANUMA,

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the Vice-Chairman, had been out-maneuvered by Count ITO. It seems that even FUTAKAMI, the Chief Secretary of the Privy Council, knew nothing (about Count ITO's volte-face) until the very day (on which ITO presented his report). HIRANUMA seems to be greatly aggravated against Count ITO."

On the 16th, I met Privy Councillor EGI. EGI said that he had been summoned by Count ITO on that very day. EGI said that Count ITO requested him to convey to Privy Councillors OKADA and ISHII that he (ITO) wanted them by all means to be quiet at the forthcoming plenary session of the Privy Council. In other words, he (ITO) requested EGI to prevail upon these two to criticize neither the Chairman of the Privy Council nor the Examination Committee's action at the plenary session of the Privy Council. EGI said that Count ITO had expressed to him his determination in regard to this issue as follows: "Risking my position, I am going to get this matter (the ratification of the Treaty) settled. I have changed my previous view on this matter; the treaty must be ratified." In short, Count ITO had summoned Privy Councillor EGI in order to request him to silence Privy Councillors OKADA and ISHII, who were antipathetic toward the attitude of the Chairman of the Privy Council and the Examination Committee.

EGI said that when he met Privy Councillor TOMII on the 17th, an hour before the meeting of the Privy Council's Examination Committee, TOMII told him:

"I severely criticized the extremely inexplicable attitude of ITO, the Chairman of the Examination Committee."

However, I felt that at the time Privy Councillor TOMII had reproached ITO, irrespective of TOMII's criticism,

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ITO had already determined to make a volte-face. Of course, in some respects, the criticisms of Privy Councillor TOMII might have had some effect upon ITO; however, I don't think that TOMII's words were the direct cause of Committee Chairman ITO's volte-face. Probably, on or about the evening of the 15th, ITO came to feel that it would be impossible to secure the consent of every member of the Privy Council for abrogating the Treaty. He must have felt that he and members of the Privy Council who favored abrogating the Treaty would have to resign their posts as Privy Councillors, if their plan for not ratifying the Treaty should be rejected by the plenary session of the Privy Council. It would have meant a loss of face and prestige for the Examination Committee as well as its Chairman, Count ITO. Consequently, he must have felt that it would be to his advantage to make a volte-face before the Treaty was deliberated upon by the plenary session of the Privy Council; this is, I believe, the true motive of his (unexpected) volte-face.

I also visited Privy Councillor SAKURAI. Privy Councillor SAKURAI said: "The members of the Privy Council have a very poor knowledge of international affairs. They deliberate upon this sort of problem (London Treaty) from the standpoint of a rightist, that is, from a very narrow (international) outlook. The fact that this knowledge of international affairs is lacking (in members of the Privy Council) is a distressing matter for the present and future (of Japan)." He appeared to be exceedingly dissatisfied (over the Privy Councillors' ignorance of international affairs). I was in complete accord with his opinion.

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At any rate, I was wondering about the outcome of the Privy Council's Examination Committee Meeting of the 26th, when Privy Councillor MIZUMACHI telephoned me: "Finally, the Committee unanimously passed the report favoring the ratification of the Treaty with a revision of two or three words. The matter was settled successfully." I reported this to the Imperial Household Minister; and I told it to KONOYE and OKABE.

On the evening preceding that day (26th), Vice-Admiral OSUMI and Rear-Admiral TERAJIMA came to my home; we discussed various matters. They said: "At the time the Privy Council was trying to make the Government summon the former Naval General Staff Chief, KATO, for a hearing at the Privy Council, the Navy Fleet was assembled at Funakawa in Aomori-Ken, for tactical maneuvers. It happened that on this occasion, KATO, the former Chief of the Naval General Staff, and SUETSUGU, the former Vice-Chief of the Naval General Staff, had gone to attend the maneuvers. These two were scheduled to remain at the site of the maneuvers and to observe them until September 1st. However, on or about August 22nd, a telegram from KATO, the former Chief of the Naval General Staff, came to the Navy Ministry, reporting that he was going to change his plans and return to Tokyo before his scheduled time because his niece was critically ill; in this telegram, he further stated that on account of the circumstances under which he would be returning to Tokyo, he would not present himself at the Navy Ministry. On the 24th, TERAJIMA, a Bureau Chief, (Navy Ministry), went to Funakawa; he found that he (Admiral KATO) had remained there (Funakawa) for one or two days

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after he had sent his telegram (to the Navy Ministry). And on the evening of the 24th, Vice-Admiral SUETSUGU, who is no relative of Admiral KATO, accompanied him and together they returned to Tokyo in a hurry.

"As aforementioned, at this time the Privy Council had requested the presence of KATO, the former Chief of the Naval General Staff, at its meeting (for a hearing); and if the Government had acceded to the demands of the Privy Council, Admiral KATO would naturally have presented himself at the Privy Council's meeting of the 26th. He probably had returned to Tokyo under the pretext that his niece was critically ill, in order to be able to present himself at the Privy Council's meeting (if the Government had consented to his attendance). In view of this fact, it has become clearly evident that Admiral KATO and Vice-Admiral SUETSUGU were scheming in collaboration with people of certain circles (rightist). Considered from various angles, this is an exceedingly regrettable phenomenon for the Navy. Even Vice-Admiral NOMURA and his intimate colleagues are being unexpectedly criticized as being weak-kneed; I felt that this was a very regrettable and sorry situation for the future of Japan's Navy. Vice-Admiral OSUMI and Rear-Admiral TERAJIMA stayed until about 12:00 p.m., and discussed various matters before they left.

The meeting of the Privy Council on the 26th was concluded successfully as mentioned above. Late in the evening of that day, I left Tokyo and visited Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu, on the morning of the 27th. When I entered the Prince's room, he said suddenly to me: "I have only seen the newspapers, but don't you think that report (of the

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Examination Committee which was passed by the plenary session of the Privy Council) is very queer. Do HAMAGUCHI (the Premier) and his Cabinet consider that there is nothing objectionable about that report? The Privy Council is shifting all responsibility (for ratifying the Treaty) to the Government by such words as: 'The Privy Council will trust implicitly in the responsible words of the Government, etc., (and endorse the ratification of the Treaty)....' This attitude of the Privy Council throws doubt upon its intrinsic raison d'etre. What do you think about this?"

I answered: "I think that it is a very irresponsible report. On a matter which the Emperor had referred to them (Privy Councillors), they have not deliberated upon the matter on their own responsibility; I feel that the report of the Privy Council (for ratifying the treaty) is based on an irresponsible attitude of theirs, in which they are imputing all responsibility solely to the Government." I read to Prince SAIONJI the copy of the report which I had taken to him.

To this, Prince SAIONJI said: "This certainly contains an excessively superfluous amount of verbiage. Is this really ITO's writing? The content is really insipid. When the YAMAMOTO Cabinet, that is, the earthquake Cabinet, was formed, the Emperor issued an Imperial Rescript. The person who wrote that Rescript was Count ITO; it was certainly a verbose thing. When the people are suffering from extreme distress, as in the case of the earthquake, they have no leisure time to read a lengthy verbose Imperial Rescript. Under such circumstances, and Imperial

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Rescript should be very short and simple, of two or three words of warm feeling, which would permit the people to understand easily and immediately the great sympathy the Emperor feels for his people."

I reported to Prince SAIONJI that I had heard from a certain source that the present Chief of the Naval General Staff, the Navy Vice-Minister, and Legislation Bureau Chief KAWASAKI, who all were natives of Hiroshima, were engaged in a movement to have Admiral ABO, a native of the same prefecture, appointed Navy Minister by making the Navy Minister TAKARABE resign from his post. I also told Prince SAIONJI that the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal told me that OSUMI would be the best choice for Navy Minister; I also told him that Admiral OKADA had also said to me that Vice-Admiral OSUMI must be appointed Navy Minister to cope with the present situation. To this, Prince SAIONJI said: "I also think so. I personally don't know Vice-Admiral OSUMI, but that is the general consensus of opinion."

Prince SAIONJI said nothing special on the so-called measures taken by the Government (for coping with the refractory action on the part of the Privy Council). However it seems to be the desire of the Government to change if possible, the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Chief Secretary of the Privy Council while Prince SAIONJI is still living. I also told Prince SAIONJI about this matter.

I returned to Tokyo on the evening of the 27th. On the 29th, I met the Premier and reported to him about my visit to Prince SAIONJI. The attitude of the Government seem to be that although it was somewhat dissatisfied with the content of the report (of the Privy Council on

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ratifying the Treaty), it was ready to overlook the faults of the report.

It appeared that the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Chief Secretary of the Privy Council were exceedingly panic-stricken over the worry that, on the occasion of the plenary meeting of the Privy Council, presided over by the Emperor, scheduled to be held on the 1st of October, either Privy Councillor EGI or Privy Councillor ISHII might express his opinion of non-confidence against the Chairman (KURATOMI) of the Privy Council in front of the Emperor. The plenary session of the Privy Council was opened at 10 a.m., October 1st. Count ITO, Chairman of the Privy Council's Examination Committee, reported on the proceedings and conclusions arrived at by the Committee. Then Viscount ISHII explained Japan's position at the Geneva Disarmament Conference; he asked why, since at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, Japan had demanded 60 thousand tons of submarines, she now was demanding 78 thousand tons for submarines. He reproachingly asked the Government the reason for demanding an increase in submarine tonnage. He also inquired the reason why more than a month's time should have been wasted since this matter (the Treaty) had been referred to the Privy Council; he rather severely reproached the Chairman of the Privy Council in his questioning. He especially told the Navy Minister to reconsider his standpoint by saying: "Whereas other Treaty Powers bound by the Treaty have never exercised their full permitted rights (for constructing naval ships), it would not bode well for the future for Japan to be the sole power to exercise its right to build naval vessels up to her full permitted limits."

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Next, Baron ISHIGURO questioned the Premier: "What does the Premier mean by his words: '(Should this Treaty not be speedily ratified), there is danger of a social disturbance.'" To this, the Premier explained in detail that should the Privy Council not speedily finish deliberating upon the Treaty (so that it could be ratified by the Emperor), many economic, political, and social rumors would become rampant, unstabilizing the political situation, which might produce serious consequences.

Without much trouble, this meeting of the Privy Council ended in less than 2 hours. The plenary session unanimously consented to the ratification of the Treaty. About 3:00 p.m. of that day, I went to see the Premier. I heard from him the proceedings of the Privy Council in deliberating upon this matter (London Treaty). The Premier said: "I shall immediately convene an extraordinary Cabinet meeting tomorrow (October 2), and take necessary measures for requesting the Emperor to ratify the Treaty. When the Emperor signs the treaty, the ratified document will be sent to London."

On my way home from the Premier's, I visited the Foreign Office and the Navy Ministry. I wanted to meet Admiral OKADA and inquire about the problem of the Navy Minister's resignation; I had (sometime before) telephoned the Admiral's home but he had been out. Unexpectedly, but fortunately, I ran into Admiral OKADA (at the Navy Ministry); I wanted to talk with him but there was no suitable place for us to talk (in the Navy Ministry); thereupon, Admiral OKADA said: "Let's go to your home." He came to my home and discussed many matters. In the course of our talk, I asked

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him: "Why are the members of the Board of Admirals frequently visiting the Chief of the Naval General Staff? What's the matter?" Admiral OKADA answered: "I think that's about the plan for increasing (naval) armaments.

"I believe that Navy Minister TAKARABE will, through force of circumstances, resign at the first opportunity. Until recently, I had thought that (Admiral OSUMI would be suitable as successor to Navy Minister TAKARABE. However, OSUMI is a brainy fellow; therefore, he in all probability would not consent to assume the post (of Navy Minister) until the (troublesome and difficult) preparation of the Government budget has been completed; should the post of Navy Minister be offered to Admiral ABO, (after OSUMI had declined to take it), he also would no doubt decline the offer. Now, should there be difficulties and troubles for want of a succeeding Navy Minister, it would be very disadvantageous for the country and also unfavorable for the Navy. I believe that by all means under the present circumstances, Admiral ABO must be prevailed upon to assume the post of Navy Minister. For this to be possible, I feel that the London Treaty must be ratified as soon as possible. Admiral ABO is by no means an obstinate, stubborn person; I think that he will be suitable because he is capable of understanding other persons' points of view and also of keeping situations under firm control. Therefore, should the Government appoint Admiral ABO as the succeeding Minister, I, to the best of my ability shall support the Government. In view of the conditions prevailing within the Navy, and for the best interests of the Government, I feel that Admiral ABO is the most suitable

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person for successor to the present Minister; there is no other suitable person."

Some days after this, I met Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI (of the Navy), at the Navy Ministry, and cautiously asked his opinion on this matter; he also said that there was no person but Admiral ABO suitable (for the succeeding Navy Minister). KOBAYASHI said: "Here is the reason why (an immediate) shift of the Navy Minister is necessary before the national budget is prepared: Should TAKARABE remain in office, regardless of the amount of Navy appropriations he might secure he would still be criticized for not being able to secure enough; whereas, should ABO be placed in office, and should he only be able to secure an appropriation for the Navy no greater in amount than that obtainable by TAKARABE, the general atmosphere of the Navy would still acclaim him, stating that so great an amount of appropriation was given to Navy because Admiral ABO had replaced TAKARABE as Navy Minister. Moreover, Minister TAKARABE appears to be over-exhausted, so I feel that it would be suitable for him to resign with due consideration to the general situation. I (KOBAYASHI) further added: "Furthermore, a friendly relationship prevails between ABO and the Chief of the Naval General Staff; therefore, I think that everything will be settled smoothly between them."

In order to report the aforementioned matters to Prince SAIONJI, I left (Tokyo) for Shizuoka on the night-train of the 1st, and in the morning of the following day, the 2nd, I went to see the Prince, and made a detailed report to him. Needless to say, I told

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him in detail what Admiral OKADA and Vice-Admiral KOBAYASHI, (the Vice-Minister of the Navy) had said; I conveyed to him the fact that the shifting of the Navy Minister was imminent.

Prince SAIONJI said: "It would be best if TAKARABE could remain in office and carry on; however, if such be the situation, I suppose his resignation is inevitable. Tell Admiral OKADA: 'SAIONJI listened without saying a thing about the matter (shifting of the Navy Minister).' Also convey to him that I said: 'Naturally Admiral OKADA's attitude on this matter must be dictated by his concern over the national defense, which is to be expected of him. However, from the higher standpoint of the welfare of the nation as a whole, I expect him to endeavor for the sake of the nation to stabilize the political situation as soon as possible.'

"When you return to Tokyo, tell EGI, the Railway Minister, as soon as possible, the details of this situation prevailing within the Navy.

"In regard to the problem of the Privy Council, it is necessary to break that queer custom, which has prevailed to this day, of the Chairman of the Privy Council making informal reports on important matters to the Emperor. It's necessary to prohibit him (Chairman of Privy Council) from infringing on the prerogative of the Premier. The consideration of this matter can be deferred to a later date. But at any rate, the matter of shifting the Navy Minister is an urgent problem, so report this to the Railway Minister as soon as possible." This was my order from Prince SAIONJI.

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Prince SAIONJI was worried over the following matter; he said: "According to the newspapers, the so-called leading higher-ups of the Navy are frequently visiting the Naval General Staff Headquarters; what does that mean? Aren't they again trying to provoke some trouble?" I promised him: "I'll contact naval sources and find out what it's all about." Thereupon, I immediately returned to Tokyo that evening and tried to contact the Premier and the Railway Minister in order to meet them. However, I was not able to meet them that evening.

The next morning, I went to see EGI, the Railway Minister; I explained to him the situation prevailing within the Navy. He was very self-composed; he said: "Well, the Premier and I deliberated upon this matter last night without a chance to sleep. Concerning this matter, Navy Minister TAKARABE said: 'I want to resign,' when he returned from London. At the time, I told him: 'You signed the (London Disarmament) Treaty and came back. It would be queer if you resigned your post (of Navy Minister) before the Treaty was ratified. By all means, please remain in your office.' I had requested him to remain in office up to this day. However, yesterday, Minister TAKARABE expressed his wish to the Premier: 'The Treaty has been ratified so I would like to resign.' Our first thought was that OSUMI would be suitable as his successor; however, in view of the prevailing general situation, it seems there is no choice but ABO. I immediately discussed with TAKARABE the matter of selecting his successor until 1:00 o'clock in the morning. At 2:00 a.m. TAKARABE went to see the

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Premier; ABO was summoned to meet the Premier. Around 3:00 a.m. ABO and TANIGUCHI, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, gathered at the official residence of the Navy Minister. TANIGUCHI, ABO, and TAKARABE came to terms; and ABO agreed to take over the post of Navy Minister unconditionally." I heard that his Imperial Investiture as Navy Minister will be held about 1:00 p.m. today.

(After seeing EGI), at 9:30 a.m. I met the Premier. The Premier reiterated what EGI had told me. At the request of the Premier, I conveyed this matter to Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu and to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

According to the Cabinet decision reached at the Cabinet meeting of the 2nd, the Premier reported to His Majesty on the matter of ratifying the London Treaty; he requested the immediate sanction of His Majesty to the Treaty. On the same day, the Imperial Household Ministry notified the Cabinet that the Treaty had been sanctioned by His Majesty at 2:35 p.m. It appeared that the ratified document of the London Naval Disarmament Treaty was going to be sent to the Premier from the Emperor on the 3rd. As a result of this, among the nations signing the Treaty, India and Ireland were the only nations which had not yet ratified it. For India, only the consent of its Government is necessary for ratifying the Treaty. Therefore, it is expected to complete the ratification of the Treaty in the near future. In Ireland, the Treaty will have to be ratified in its parliament, which will be convened on November 19th;

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consequently, its ratification will be delayed. However, by the end of November, the Treaty will have been ratified by all the nations which signed it. In view of the fact that other nations have finished the ratification of the Treaty, there is information from Ireland that she might be able to speed the ratification of the Treaty. Therefore, perhaps by November 11th, Armistice Day, each nation may be able to deposit its ratified document. At least by the end of November, all nations will probably have deposited their ratified documents.

Japan's ratified document of the Treaty was placed on the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Seattle line ship, Hikawa Maru, which left at 3:00 p.m. of the 4th. It will be forwarded to the Japanese Embassy at London via Canada. It is scheduled to reach London on the 28th or 29th of October. Ambassador MATSUDAIRA will take it and attend the Deposit Ceremony.

The Imperial Investiture of the new Navy Minister ABO was conducted at the Imperial Palace at 1:30 p.m. on the 3rd. On the evening of the 3rd, I went to the Navy Ministry and met Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI; we discussed various matters. The new Navy Minister was absent from the Navy Ministry; he was visiting the various Imperial Princes on courtesy calls as the new Minister.

In order to convey Prince SAIONJI's words to Admiral OKADA, I went to OKADA's home about 5:00 o'clock; I told him: "I returned from Okitsu yesterday. I explained to Prince SAIONJI for more than an hour your opinion on selecting the succeeding Navy Minister;

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he listened without making any comments whatsoever thereupon. At the end, he said: 'I understand well. Tell Admiral OKADA that considerations of national defense are very important, needless to say; however, I expect him to endeavor directly and indirectly for the welfare of the nation from a higher standpoint.'

Admiral OKADA was happy over the fact that the matter was settled so smoothly and speedily. On the evening of Oct. 4, Vice-Admiral OSUMI returned to Tokyo; so I called him on the phone. He came over to my home at 6:30 p.m.; and we discussed matters while dining. He explained the reason why he declined to accept the post of Navy Minister. He said: "Although Minister TAKARABE and Admiral TOGO urged me to accept the post, I absolutely refused it in view of the fact that there were many officials senior to me." OSUMI said that Admiral ABO, who had consented to become the new Minister, would not cause trouble for the Government or start foolish schemes in collaboration with the so-called die-hards. On this point that there was nothing to worry about, both Vice-Admiral OSUMI and Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI agreed. OSUMI said: "I think that KATO (the former), Chief of the Naval General Staff, and his group will eventually be checked and punished for their machination."

I met the Imperial Household Minister and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and explained to them in detail the circumstances under which the new Navy Minister was appointed. I felt that for the time being, there would be no trouble.

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On the morning of the 6th, I visited TAKARABE, the former Navy Minister. Admiral TAKARABE said: "I think that my present resignation will help toward the success of the next Disarmament Conference. In a way, this might appear as a very irresponsible action on my part; however, I felt that under present circumstances it would be best for me to resign.

"The following is a matter which I have already mentioned to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; I would like to have you convey it to Prince SAIONJI; I want it given serious consideration. There is nothing objectionable for a Prince of the Imperial Family to assume a responsible post and justly to execute his official prerogatives, as any official would do; however, it would be undesirable for the sake of the said Prince and the Imperial Family, if His Highness's attendants officiously influenced and advised him on his official actions. In Britain, there are official posts for members of the Royal Family, such as 'Personal A-B-C' (sic), which are honorary posts for Admirals and Generals of the Royal Family as attendants to the King, with no real powers whatsoever attached to the posts. I believe it would be best for the sake of the Imperial Family, if this kind of system were adopted in Japan."

To this, I told him: "You have certainly for a long period of time seriously endeavored for the sake of the nation. It is a very regrettable fact that Your Excellency, who have contributed greatly to the nation, should have to resign from your official post against your real intentions. I don't think that you should

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retire entirely from your career; however, you must be very tired and exhausted, so it might be best for you to take a rest for the time being." After saying this, I returned home.

That evening, I visited the Premier at Kamakura; and from there, I went to see Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu. The next morning, I met Prince SAIONJI. I apologized to him for the fact that I had not reported to him immediately about the shifting of the Navy Minister on the day it occurred. To this, Prince SAIONJI said: "Well, when you last came here and conveyed to me what Admiral OKADA had said about the situation, I felt that the situation would inevitably turn out this way; so I kept silent about the matter. I did not worry much about it."

I explained to Prince SAIONJI how the situation turned out thus: The Seiyukai (the opposition party) had been plotting to make it difficult for the Government to find a successor to Navy Minister TAKARABE and had expected, if possible, to overthrow the Cabinet. This had stimulated the Government into shifting the Navy Minister with lightning speed. I told him that I had obtained this information from Railway Minister EGI. I also conveyed to Prince SAIONJI that ABC, the new Minister, had promised that he would fairly and sincerely execute his duty.

I told Prince SAIONJI that I heard the following story from Admiral TAKARABE: On the day that Admiral TAKARABE resigned from his post of Navy Minister, Admiral KATO, the former Naval General Staff Chief,

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came to the Minister's room in the Navy Ministry, and said to him (TAKARABE): "I feel very sorry that I have caused you trouble up to the present by my troublesome words and actions against you. Please excuse me for my past actions. Moreover, please permit our 40 years' friendship to be revived and henceforth again provide me advice and guidances." KATO made this request with tears streaking down his cheek. Thereupon, Admiral TAKARABE extended his hand in sign of friendship and said: "I don't mind that. However, there is one thing I especially want to admonish you about. That is: You must hereafter absolutely cease dealing with vulgar politics, motivated by various sinister ambitions. This is a point I especially want to warn you about on this occasion." To this, KATO, the former Chief of the Naval General Staff, answered: "No, hereafter, I shall never meet that sort of people. For some time now, I have ceased to see them."

When Prince SAIONJI heard this, he said: "That crying of his -- didn't that happen on some previous occasion also! That's a trick of Admiral KATO's." The Prince said: "The general impression of the public toward the new Navy Minister, Admiral ABO, seems to be favorable; the newspaper comments on his appointment aren't bad. I think it can be said that everything went satisfactorily. I'm glad that the change of Ministers was made deftly and quickly; well, this matter has been settled."

I returned to Tokyo. I met the Premier and told him that Prince SAIONJI was satisfied and relieved over

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the outcome of this matter.

On this issue of ratifying the London Treaty, it became evident that the attitude of a group of Privy Councillors was motivated by political considerations. There are many Privy Councillors who feel very much dissatisfied over the fact that the Privy Council had been under the sway of 3 or 4 members, a group of intriguers; they personally feel that the condition that has prevailed up to the present runs counter to the intrinsic raison d'etre of the Privy Council. However, since these Councillors are aged, they have tolerated this situation for the sake of causing no commotion within the Privy Council. Since the ratification of the Treaty, there has been undisguised political intrigue on the part of certain members of the Privy Council, who are no other than the following four: the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, Privy Councillor ITO, and Chief Secretary FUTAKAMI of the Privy Council. Of these, the Chairman of the Privy Council, KURATOMI, Yuzaburo is a mere puppet of Privy Councillors ITO, Miyoji and HIRANUMA, Kiichiro. The Chairman lacks any prestige whatsoever; serious criticism has prevailed against his want of prestige. KURATOMI, on the instigation of HIRANUMA and ITO, visited the Premier, and demanded that he present to the Privy Council a copy of the report concerning ratification of the London Treaty which the Premier was going to make to the Emperor; he demanded this of the Premier even before the Privy Council's Committee for examining the London Treaty had been appointed. This is an un-

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precedented act in the history of the Privy Council. Moreover, the fact that he made such a demand on the Premier in itself constitutes a serious problem. His action and motive in his official capacity as Chairman of the Privy Council in this instance were extremely indiscreet and thoughtless; this was the opinion of everyone on this matter.

For the above-mentioned reasons, for some years much had been said about reforming the Privy Council. Privy Councillor OKADA said: "The reform of the Privy Council's rules of procedure for deliberating matters must now be instituted, and reforms for gradually eradicating the fundamental evils inherent in the Privy Council must be carried out."

For instance, in respect to the London Treaty: Even after approximately a month had elapsed since the Treaty had been referred to the Privy Council by the Emperor, members of the Privy Council were unable in any way whatsoever to ascertain the content of the matter referred to them. And the matter was neglected under the pretext that a preliminary study was being made. The Privy Council tried to impute to the Government its (Privy Council's) own fault for neglecting for a month the deliberation of the matter, by claiming that there were mistranslations in the original text provided by the Government. However, the mistakes in translation were nothing serious. They were, in reality, a matter of some commas and periods missing or misplaced. Although it wasn't worth mentioning, the Privy Council exaggerated it and tried to impute the

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delay in deliberating upon the Treaty to the Government. This sort of thing was perpetuated by the Chief Secretary, FUTAKAMI, and Privy Counsellors HIRANUMA and ITO, for their own ulterior motives. I have heard that former chief secretaries of the Privy Council have been disgusted over the fact that they had to resort to such foul, abominable means in dealing with the Government. Therefore, it is natural that Privy Counsellor OKADA was of the opinion that: "Whenever a case is referred to the Privy Council by the Emperor, a plenary session of the Privy Council must be convened for the first reading of the matter; by all means, a means for informing every Privy Counsellor of the content of the matter referred to the Privy Council must be provided. I wish that by this means a chance would be afforded to the Privy Counsellors to give serious and responsible consideration to the matter before them."

This reform of the procedure for deliberating upon matters referred to the Privy Council might involve the reform of some other matters. However, this matter has to be first considered by the Cabinet; and the Cabinet will have to take necessary steps for making the reforms by means of an Imperial Ordinance. Privy Counsellor OKADA is considered to have some affiliations with the Minseito. Consequently, certain persons might become suspicious that in secret collaboration with the Government, OKADA might be trying to reform the internal organization of the Privy Council through reform of the procedure for deliberating upon matters referred to it by the Emperor. The Government must take

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due precautions to forestall such suspicions. Should the Government explain to the Privy Councillors the necessity of revising the rules of procedure of the Privy Council, and the formulate a bill to reform this situation, no suspicions or queer speculations would be attached to the Government's motives in this case. And this bill for reform will consequently receive the good-will of the majority of the Privy Councillors and be put into force without any trouble whatsoever. However, I feel that under the prevailing circumstances such a reform could not easily be effectuated.

In regard to this problem, I visited Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu on October 12th; I explained to him the general outline of the matter. Prince SAIONJI had said some time ago: "By all means I would like to see TAKARABE, the former Navy Minister, accorded by the Emperor the Court status and privilege attached to his former office of Navy Minister. I have a great sympathy for his past serious endeavors for the nation. Admiral TAKARABE did really desire to resign from his post when he returned home from London as a plenipotentiary envoy. He expressed his desire to resign to EGI, the Railway Minister. EGI, the Railway Minister, and others said to him 'By all means we want you to stay in office until the Treaty is ratified.' Moreover, when TAKARABE reported to the Emperor on returning to Japan from London, the Emperor, of his own accord said to TAKARABE: 'Please endeavor fully in order to secure the consent of the Privy Council to this Treaty.' These words of the

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Emperor deeply moved TAKARABE and caused him to change his mind about resigning; and since then to this day, in a very difficult situation, he has endeavored to get the Treaty passed by the Privy Council. In view of his endeavors, I feel that he rightly deserves to be granted the official privileges and Court status of a Minister. Moreover, he has served as Navy Minister three times; consequently, he is well qualified to be granted this privilege."

I had told this to the Premier at the request of KOBAYASHI, the Vice-Minister of the Navy, and I also mentioned this again to Prince SAIONJI. Because Prince SAIONJI harbored the above opinion, he was in complete accord with the idea of having TAKARABE accorded the privileges and Court status of a minister. The Prince said: "By all means let this be realized."

There was doubt whether a person who is an active member of the Board of Admirals and Generals could be accorded the official privileges and status of a minister. However, fortunately, as of October 11th, former Minister TAKARABE was granted the privileges and status of a minister.

When I met the Finance Minister on October 22nd, he said: "On the issue of supplementing naval armaments, I believe that a compromise can unquestionably be agreed upon with the Navy Ministry. I don't think that there is anything to worry about on this point. In the coming fiscal year's national budget, the government's revenue will decline immensely, but the budget itself will amount to approximately 150,000,000 Yen. It will

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be difficult to meet the budgetary demands of each ministry.

I am greatly worried over this matter; however, by all means the budget will have to be formulated. I firmly believe that it can be formulated." Moreover, the Finance Minister said he was going to summon the Navy Vice-Minister on the 23rd and show him the budget, which will be formulated by the 22nd, at the Finance Ministry.

In the morning of the 24th, I visited KOBAYASHI, the Vice-Minister of the Navy, at the Navy Ministry. KOBAYASHI said: "The Navy appropriation has been reduced far beyond our expectations; with this appropriation, the Navy won't be able to do a thing." On this occasion, the Chief of the Naval Ship Construction Section was present. According to him: "At present, the laborers employed by the Navy number 45,000 persons; this is the total number of laborers employed in the various naval arsenals. However, according to the Navy appropriation, as allocated by the Finance Ministry, 15,000 will have to be discharged. Consequently, the Navy will have to cause a large number to be without employment. Moreover, for the next fiscal year, the Navy will have no work to sub-contract to civilian factories. In addition to this, hardly any repair of naval ships will be permissible according to next year's appropriation." He complained a great deal over the matter.

I heard that on that evening or the following evening, the Navy Vice-Minister was going to leave for Kobe, in order to show the Navy appropriation bill prepared by the Finance Ministry to the Navy Minister who

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was in Kobe.

At that time, the Navy had just finished its Grand Manouvers, and the fleet was anchored off the shores of Kishiwada. On the 25th, when the Grand Maneuvers had been completed, TANIGUCHI, the Chief of the Naval General Staff, issued a statement; in his statement, he said: "It is not permissible for me to say anything on the results of these maneuvers. However, the Navy has been able to harvest many invaluable results, which have been unobtainable in maneuvers of the past. At the same time, I could not prevent the recurrence of a fervent belief that: Should we be able to secure a certain form of naval armaments beyond the present types (we would be able to wage war with any nation); and also the feeling that if it were only permissible to permit the people actually to witness these maneuvers"

KATO, the former Naval General Staff Chief spoke to news reporters: "It is extremely dangerous for rank outsiders to argue about naval armaments. The Navy is demanding the minimum permissible for its plan for supplementing naval armaments. The reason why we tried to have our original demand for naval armaments accepted by all means at the Naval Disarmament Conference, was that: Armaments are not for the purpose of waging wars, but for the purpose of preventing dangers to the existence of the nations. This is the reason why nations maintain armaments. In view of the amount of armaments permitted to Japan by the London Treaty, it will be necessary to have this new plan of the Navy for supplementing naval armaments implemented, because it is a critical matter

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on which the fall or rise of the nation depends. On the occasion when the Treaty was ratified, the Government reported to the Emperor that it would take all necessary measures for insuring national defense. Consequently, the Government must give due consideration to the Navy's demand for supplementing its armaments for the purpose of national defense. However, the Government is trying to reduce this important plan of the Navy for national defense through political considerations; this is a very dangerous thing based on the ignorance on naval affairs of rank outsiders. This is a really distressing fact."

At any rate, through these words, the aforementioned people are directly and indirectly still tenaciously criticizing the ratification of the London Treaty. This could be considered a continuation of the Navy's political intrigue against the ratification of the London Treaty.

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 10

Naval Replenishment and Tax Reduction

Translated by Lieut. Mario Morikawa

Editorial in the Nichi Nichi, "Grim Determination Concerning the Reply to the Imperial Throne

Fate of the Replenishment Plan

The Complacent Attitude of British and French Statesmen

The editor of the Nichi Nichi wrote at that time: "There is nothing as dangerous to society as the militarists' solutions of political problems. How about Germany's recent downfall?" He bitterly attacked Admiral KATO's harsh words, and his opinion seemed to be shared by most of the people.

I met the Premier on the morning of the 29th. That night, since the Imperial Sanction of the London Treaty had been obtained, WAKATSUKI invited all the persons connected with it, and all the members of the Cabinet, to Shinkiraku in Tsukiji, in a wholly private capacity. I was one of those who had the honor of attending. Since I planned to depart for Okitsu after the party, I visited the Premier in the morning of the same day.

The Premier said: "The Navy's attitude is very vague, but men like the Chief of the Naval General Staff are saying: 'We will fight to the finish to execute the contents of the reply to the Imperial Throne.' Again, Admiral KATO is repeatedly uttering harsh words, which is indeed regrettable. Therefore I would like the Prince to cooperate as much as possible, and to conclude this matter smoothly. I wonder if you couldn't

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request this of him when you go to Okitsu?"

I wanted to inquire of the situation from Admiral OKADA in the evening. I also thought that it would be well if I visited the Navy Minister and the Chief of the Naval General Staff, but if I should visit them too often at this time, the situation would become more delicate so I refrained from doing so. Fortunately I was to have lunch with Vice-Admiral NOMURA and Rear-Admiral TERAJIMA that day at the Tokyo Club so I asked them various questions concerning the attitude of the Naval General Staff. Vice-Admiral NOMURA was very familiar with the situation and said: "In this time of financial stress, it is undesirable to have the Navy voice various disagreements. Something will surely have to be done."

I then met the Railway Minister at the Railway Ministry; he was also very anxious and I said to him: "The replenishment plan is necessary and I think that it is practicable. However this is quite a difficult problem." I also met the Minister of Finance who said: "Of course it is practicable. I will do something."

I visited the private residence of Admiral OKADA as agreed on that evening. Admiral OKADA said: "I feel that there is no need to worry. This matter will be successfully concluded in the end. I believe that it must be concluded. However this is quite a difficult problem and it will never be possible to solve it if only the Finance and Navy Ministers are consulted. In the end I believe that it is necessary to await the Premier's decision."

I inquired: "Is it true that the Chief of the Naval

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General Staff said he would fight to the very end concerning the reply to the Imperial Throne?" Admiral OKADA replied: "It may be true. Actually, the reason TANIGUCHI says such things is that at the time he was appointed Chief of the Naval General Staff, TANIGUCHI was forced to explain the contents of the reply to the Imperial Throne by using figures, which was against his desires. In other words, it was because TANIGUCHI had said: 'We will accomplish this and this,' that the heads of the Navy such as the Fleet Admirals and War Councillors had approved. It was as if conditions were attached to this approval, and if he cannot completely justify his figures, TANIGUCHI's position will be bad. There is absolutely no possibility that Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI and newly appointed Admiral ABO will be influenced by the words or incitements of former Chief of the Naval General Staff KATO. However I believe that if Admiral KATO or his faction should influence the Admirals and Fleet Admirals, Chief of the Naval General Staff TANIGUCHI will be in such a position that he will not be able to do anything. I also believe that it is possible for Admiral KATO to be utilized by the reservists and persons scheming for the downfall of the Cabinet, and this problem may be the chief bone of contention at this time. Of course Admiral ABO is determined to see the conclusion of this. Of the five hundred and so many millions which is the demand of the Navy, this whole amount is not necessarily requested in the reply to the Imperial Throne. Therefore if things are done skilfully approximately a hundred million yen should be

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obtained. Concerning the remaining thirty or forty million, I think it can be done as we please, depending on the way we handle it at the time. The Navy Ministry can save forty to sixty million in ministerial expenses, and they will probably request the remainder from the Finance Ministry. However negotiations for the remaining fifty or sixty million will be quite difficult. The Finance Ministry will sincerely recognize the demands of the Navy, in other words its doctrines and policies. However it will probably say that since this is a difficult time in finance, it would like the Navy to await the future a little while longer. However, if TANIGUCHI's honour isn't supported a bit, I believe that the Navy might be embarrassed. I believe that on the whole this matter will be successfully concluded. Of course, a small amount of difficulty will have to be met. Please tell the Prince not to worry too much."

I went to Shinkiraku that night; WAKATSUKI had also invited Admiral OKADA. I called the Premier to a separate room at the Shinkiraku so that we would not be noticed and talked of Admiral OKADA's story in detail. The Premier was also very happy. The Premier said to me: "Please have the Prince speak encouragingly to Admiral OKADA. The Government is facing a difficult situation, and the people are saying that the way to rescue the financial world is to issue securities and bonds and to increase public relief bonds. Whatever the case may be, there is no other way but to execute the reduction of taxes as a basic step. I would like to go along with the assumption that a reduction of

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close to two hundred million is necessary, and I would like by all means to reduce by at least one hundred or one hundred and sixty million yen. Please extend my best regards to the Prince. I have twice missed a chance to meet him, and please tell him that I will visit him soon."

I left the party at nine o'clock and went to Oki-tsu. I met the Prince the next morning on the 30th, and reported everything to him. The Prince said: "I do not know what to say to OKADA. What shall I say to him? If the Premier were ordinarily on closer terms with OKADA, it would be very convenient. He relies on me whenever something happens, and I guess that that is a fault and also a strong point of Premier HAMAGUCHI."

I said: "As to what you should say to Admiral OKADA, when I met OKADA yesterday, I said: 'Since the Prince is considerably worried, I would like to hear of the situation within the Navy,' I then got the statement which I have related to you. Therefore if you should say: 'I understand various things now; I would like your utmost endeavors in this time of difficulty; please give your consideration to the country to obtain a satisfactory conclusion to this problem,' it would be sufficient."

The Prince replied: "If that's the case, tell that to Admiral OKADA when you return. At any rate the Minister of War and the Prime Minister have met, and yet they have not touched on the budget. Both sides are withholding the problem of the replenishment plan also, and it is very bad when the Premier and the Cabinet members are taking an attitude similar to that in

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France and Germany. They must be more frank with each other and allow a little more elbow-room. Especially the Premier -- if necessary, he should not hesitate to talk to the War Councillors even if they are not members of the Cabinet."

I said: "As for the Premier, if he should always call upon Admiral OKADA it might become an obstacle when Admiral OKADA decided to mediate. Therefore I believe that it is a little difficult." The Prince said at the end: "Please give my regards to the Premier."

Meanwhile, we talked of various things, and I said: "I once read the books of BALFOUR. Among recent politicians BALFOUR was one who enjoyed great popularity. In the Parliament sessions, BALFOUR, who was Prime Minister, would mistakenly explain the budget by confusing units of a hundred millions with units of ten millions. At such times he would not seem embarrassed, but when he discovered that he had made an error, he would say: 'The previous figures which I read to you were in error. The fifty million should have been five hundred million. However, the fact that the figures were mistaken does not mean that my policies and contentions have changed. Please listen with that in mind.'" Thus he would clearly settle the problem. The magnanimous attitude of the members of the opposing party, who laughed at his error without being occupied with the error, shows that there was quite a large amount of leeway in the minds both of the opposition and of the sponsors of the bill. At the same time, it shows BALFOUR's character."

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The Prince said: "I believe so too. I knew this man BALFOUR and he was indeed a fine man. Also in France, while GAMBETTA was active as the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, the Finance Minister of the party which was then in power similarly made an error in figures. When GAMBETTA's party, which was out of power, raised a disturbance, GAMBETTA stood up and mentioned the thirty-odd million francs. He said: 'The mistake was over these figures, wasn't it? Although I'm very poor, even I could afford to reimburse that meager amount of money.' He reprimanded his own party, and the matter was concluded amid cheers and applause. I am certainly envious of such an atmosphere." The Prince referred to the occasions during the London Treaty discussion when men like Chief Cabinet Secretary NIKAMI were critical of missing commas and periods in the Imperial Diet and Privy Council. The Prince said: "This is bothersome."

I then returned to Tokyo from Shizuoka on the day special express and met the Premier on the next day. I gave him all the details. On the morning of the next day I met Admiral OKADA. I gave the Prince's message to OKADA.

Lack of Sympathy

Essential Points Requiring the Consideration of the Prince

I said to the Premier: "The Prince extends his regards. The words of encouragement which you requested to have sent to Admiral OKADA have been sent. I

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plan to go around tomorrow and speak to Admiral OKADA."

After that I went to the Foreign Ministry and met Vice-Minister YOSHIDA. The Vice-Minister said: "In the first place, at the party at Shinkiraku on the night of the 29th, WAKATSUKI should have been instructed by the Government to place Admiral OKADA somewhere closer to the Premier. He should have been treated more politely, and the Premier and Cabinet members should have offered their sake cups to him in a friendly manner. In view of present conditions, this would help to soothe feelings generally and, in simple language, it would have been helpful psychologically. Those who went to exchange friendly drinks were only SHIDEHARA and Commerce and Industry Minister TAWARA. It is on such occasions that he somehow seems to lack so-called human feelings and consideration; he missed a very good opportunity." I was in wholehearted approval with the Vice-Minister's remarks; it was on such points that I am so dissatisfied with the present Cabinet.

I visited Admiral OKADA after that, and said: "I went to the Prince's residence and related the general situation which you had told me about. The Prince came to understand everything very well from your story. It is the Prince's wish that you exert all your efforts both directly and indirectly to see this important problem through with the least amount of difficulty. He extends his best wishes."

Admiral OKADA said: "I will do my best to obtain a hundred million yen. But if a figure exceeding that is requested, it will be difficult for me to handle."

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I replied: "The Prince does not say that a hundred million and so many tens of thousands, or a hundred million and so many millions of yen should be reached, etc. He only desires your utmost efforts because this is an important political crisis which he wants to see concluded. In short, it seems to be the Prince's greatest point of anxiety that there is no better cabinet or ideal cabinet available at this time, in case of a political change. He seems to be worried most concerning the problem of whether there is an appropriate succeeding cabinet. As you have said, looking at conditions in the present Seiyukai, matters are quite difficult. An interim cabinet would also be undesirable at this time. I say this only to you, but I believe that it is necessary at this time to understand this situation fully."

The Admiral said: "The Seiyukai as of today isn't good, and an interim cabinet would be even worse. To think of a change of cabinet before the Seiyukai becomes well-organized is of course not good for the country."

I said: "If this matter, in other words the problem of the replenishment plan, is not settled even one day sooner, various groups will become active with each passing day; and if men like Admiral TOGO should become prominent the matter will become exceedingly troublesome. A result even worse than the former Privy Council disturbance may be precipitated. Therefore if talks between the Chief of the Naval General Staff and the Navy Minister can be concluded even a day sooner, matters between the Government and the Navy, and

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between the Cabinet and the Navy Ministry will also be concluded speedily. After these matters are concluded, then they can say to Admiral TOGO and War Councillor KATO: "We have come to such and such a conclusion." This seems to me to be the best procedure. The London Treaty, which had become quite an issue, has been approved today, and the government should get along with thirty or forty million yen."

Evil scandal-seeking newspaper reports had come into the office of Admiral OKADA; such as the report in the Sunday evening papers that Ambassador CASTLE has distributed one million five hundred thousand or two million yen in order to buy up the officials of the newspapers and Government; another, that SHIDEHARA is the Foreign Minister of the United States; that HAMAGUCHI is a betrayer of his country. It was said that these newspapers aroused such men as Admiral TOGO, and I felt that an Admiral TOGO who became incited by such reports was undesirable. However I listened to the reports in silence.

Although it was Admiral OKADA's reported intention to do his best, it seemed to be the Government's intention to stop at a sum approximating three hundred million yen. I told Admiral OKADA that the Government refrained from revealing to the public any talk about four hundred million yen. Admiral OKADA said various things; I agreed with him on these things and said: "Please do your best," and returned.

I planned to meet the Premier that evening, but I was not able to do so because there was a meeting of the Committee on Election Reorganization which was

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to start at 8:30 in the evening. However there was a telephone call from the Premier, and he said: "Please come about nine o'clock tonight." I went about that time and related Admiral OKADA's views; the Premier said: "Please tell the Finance Minister what you have just told me."

Therefore I planned to meet the Finance Minister on the morning of the next day, when the Finance Minister said that he would stop over at my place. I waited for him, and Finance Minister INOUE came about 11:00 o'clock.

I related to him the minute details of my talk with Admiral OKADA, and said: "It is very difficult to exceed one hundred million yen. It is difficult. He may have used a certain amount of diplomacy in talking to us. In short, the core of the problem lies in Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI. The reason Admiral ABO became Navy Minister was that if he became the Minister, Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI could work effectively. If it were Vice-Admiral OSUMI, he himself is a man who does a lot of work and the Vice-Minister would not be able to accomplish anything. Therefore I know that he is trying his best to conclude this current problem. I believe it is important that this matter be concluded with Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI's efforts as the basis."

I stated this opinion to Railway Minister EGI the other day. It seemed that the Railway Minister had negotiated fully with Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI, and he said: "This is a difficult problem but the Government and also the Navy are saying that the people's burden should be lightened so they should get along with

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thirty or forty million yen. I am expecting this of the Navy, and although it was bad before, it is satisfactory now that the London Treaty has been concluded." The Finance Minister also said: "I would like to formulate this as soon as possible, and to send it to the Navy, preparing all the proposals in one day."

I departed for Okitsu on the night of the 2nd and told the Prince of the details leading up to the present and also of my talk with Admiral OKADA. The Prince said: "It looks very good." He continued: "Do not tell them that SAIONJI said anything about making it a hundred and so many million yen." I replied: "Of course you, as the Genro, should not say such things. I told them that you never said such things. Admiral OKADA knows full well that you have not mentioned figures."

The Prince said: "However, I do not want any suggestion of four hundred million. If it isn't three hundred and so many million, the inner workings of human nature will be such that it will have an undesirable effect upon the people." The Prince continued: "It must be done so that the friendly relations between the people and the Army are maintained." I said in reply: "It will be bad if results similar to the situation in Germany are obtained, will it not?"

The Prince said: "In Germany, the people on the whole possess a martial spirit and they do not engage in agitation. Therefore it's not so bad, but if things come to such a state in Japan, the people are likely to turn communistic. Such an anxiety is entirely foreign to Germany, and something must be done to prevent the Army from stimulating it. In former times,

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as long as the Government was run by the Constitution, if the Army and Navy were inclined to be high-handed and did things that were out of the ordinary, the constitutional groups would cooperate in opposing the military, whether they were in opposing parties or not. That was if the militarists' policies ran counter to constitutional government. This is the natural thing to do but if one party is going to utilize the military, the situation will be full of danger. Such a policy is exceedingly regrettable. Various reports reach us from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in America, and in all our long history there is no one who is as ignorant of diplomacy as it is. Even in Europe, they do not normally consider the Senate of America. Diplomats who are at all familiar with diplomacy do not bother with it. Those who use the reports of the Committee, and who spend money to distribute them as reference material are elements that are not well-versed in world diplomacy, and it is a queer and difficult problem. It is so difficult because there are so many who are ignorant of present conditions."

The Navy's Replenishment Plan

A Solution At Last

Realization of Army Economy

The Conclusion of the London Treaty

The Joy of the Aged Prince

After that the Government strove for a peaceful solution of the replenishment plan. The Finance Minister looked at the colossal sum of five hundred and eight

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million yen included in the replenishment plan advanced by the Navy Ministry and said in astonishment: "That's terrible, isn't it?" The Finance Minister was endeavoring to conclude the matter and was trying to avoid direct meetings with the Navy, as he had once said when he visited my home. Again, in the Navy, the Chief of the Naval General Staff was stubbornly insisting upon his figures. The other day Railway Minister EGI and the Chief of the Naval General Staff met in secrecy and discussed a satisfactory solution to this problem, and they are still continuing their efforts. However, the Navy seemed to refuse anything under 309,800,000 yen and the negotiations seemed to reach a standstill. The Finance Minister's estimate provides that the unit sum should be reduced fifteen percent, but the Navy seemed to claim that it is not possible to reduce this beyond five percent. However the Navy proposed to delay the building of aircraft for about a year. In spite of this confusion, the discussion was carried on satisfactorily without the interference of either the War Councilors or Admiral TOGO.

Since I was to leave for Okitsu on the 7th, I met the Premier, the Finance Minister, and the Railway Minister. They all said that they would use their utmost endeavors, and the Premier said that it was urgent that the Government carry out a decrease in taxation. He stated that a decrease of less than 105,000,000 yen would be undesirable, and that he would strive by all means to achieve a reduction of at least that sum. The Premier repeatedly said: "If you should meet the men of the Navy and should be asked various questions,

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please say that a sum less than that would be entirely ineffective. In other words do not say that all will be well if a solution to the problem is arrived at, but say that the Government will not be able to get along with a reduction less than 105,000,000 yen."

I reached Shizuoka about 12:00 o'clock at night. When I was leaving Shimbashi station, the reporters came and said: "Just now there was a conference between the Chief of the Naval Staff and the Navy Minister. After that the Chief of the Naval Staff showed a very strong attitude and said: 'We will not be able to yield a single step.' The matter will become very difficult!" The reporters related such things to me as if the whole situation had turned right around. I became very anxious and when I reached Shizuoka, I called Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI at his official residence from the Daitokan after 12:00 o'clock. I said: "Things looked very disturbed just before I left. Is it all right?" Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI replied that it would be possible to find a solution.

When I met Prince SAIONJI the next day, I outlined the situation to him and said: "The Chief of the Naval Staff's strong attitude may be written up in tomorrow's papers, but according to the Vice-Minister's story he believes that in the end we will be able to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Again, on the Government's part, the Railway Minister and the Finance Minister are endeavoring to conclude this matter, so I believe that it will surely succeed. There is also a great margin in the regular budget. I believe that they will do something about that too. Last night after we

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passed Kozu, the Chief of the General Staff, who seemed to be on his way to the Grand Maneuvers came into my car and vehemently stated in a slightly inebriated manner: 'I went to War Minister UGAKI's residence. UGAKI's injury has healed considerably and he should be able to appear at the end of this month. It will be bad if he does not appear. The Government is adhering to the anti-loan policy which it advanced at one of the Diet sessions, and we are being restricted because of the desire of the political parties to keep from losing face. The Army is sweating blood in this extremely difficult situation, and under these conditions morale will never rise. A national defense plan is a permanent thing, and if this is to be changed by each succeeding political party it may be the origin of some serious happening in the future. Therefore I wish the Prince would consider the existence of faults in the political parties. I think that Prince SAIONJI is conscious of this without reminders from such persons as myself, because he is very wise, but this is indeed a difficult problem. Of course I do not say such things to the public, in my present position, and I do not reveal anything that has the least connection with politics, but what is going to happen with all this curtailment? If the main issues are to be miscalculated because of the Government's adherence to a single proclamation in the Diet, there will be no country and no anything.'

"I said: 'This is not a simple sentimental problem in which face-saving is concerned, nor is the policy one that is being adhered to because it was

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once set at a Diet session. It is like the surgical diagnoses of two doctors concerning an appendicitis case. One will say that it would be harmful to remove the appendix. He may believe that only when the appendix is not removed will he be able to carry out a fundamental treatment. The other may stoutly believe that it must be removed as soon as possible. These two different views may be called policies based on the faith of the two medical doctors and they represent life-long study. Each of them believes that only by accepting his method can the patient be cured. In the political field the financiers consider that a reduction policy is the only one by which they can save the financial world from this crisis and the only way to eradicate this illness at its base. They do not desire the issue of loans, and they advocate an anti-loan policy together with the reduction policy. This is analogous to the differences between the two medical doctors, and I believe that the situation is not what you think it is.' That was what I said."

The Prince replied: "That is true. The militarists are a bothersome lot." The Prince continued: "I believe that the replenishment plan will somehow be concluded but I wish they would do something quickly. There will also have to be a considerable reduction of taxes. Please extend my regards to everyone when you return."

I returned to Tokyo on the night of the 8th. The Cabinet conference was to be opened on the 9th if the negotiations proceeded satisfactorily but things had not reached that stage as yet. Matters were in confu-

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sion, but when I visited Railway Minister EGI at his private residence in the evening, he said: "You're wrong, the matter has been roughly settled. Therefore I believe that the replenishment plan will also be concluded. Again, concerning the general budget, I believe that something will be done because the matter is getting simpler. Finance Minister INOUE and the Navy Minister are to confer tonight, and they will tell me the results by phone, so stay up and wait for it. If it is concluded, I wish you would go to Okitsu to report that the matter has been concluded without waiting for the Cabinet conference. Isn't it better to report this even a minute sooner?"

At that time, there was a happening that surprised even me. I learned of it for the first time when I was called to the Premier's place on the morning of the 9th. The Premier said: "Contrary to my belief that the Army would not be difficult to handle, the Army became very critical and I was forced to call War Minister ABE, the Finance Minister, and Navy Minister ABO to the Prime Minister's residence. I saw the Army's budget for the first time, and after various studies, I conferred with these persons. I did my best to work out a successful conclusion of this matter and it seems as if the Finance Minister and the War Minister are continuing negotiations." The Premier continued: "The replenishment plan has been deferred and I think that the matter will be settled without affecting the policies and theories of the Navy. The reduction in estimates requested by the Finance Ministry for the year 1931 in regard to the over-all budget was 160,000,000 yen.

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and over half, or 85,000,000 yen, was requested of the Army and Navy. The reduction quote directed at the Navy was 54,000,000 yen and the Navy is endeavoring to make this 41,000,000 yen. A reduction of 31,000,000 yen is requested of the Army. At present the Army has proposed a reduction of 25,000,000 yen and the remaining 6,470,000 yen has become a problem. In the end, of the reduction of 88,500,000 requested of the military, 66,000,000 yen is the actual reduction. Negotiations are being carried on concerning the remaining 19,000,000 yen and there should be a telephone call from INOUE tonight. I will then notify you of the results, so please wait until then. I think it would be well if you could go to Okitsu early tomorrow morning."

There was no telephone call, though I waited until after midnight. The Railway Minister said: "Let's postpone it until tomorrow, as it is already 12:00 o'clock." I replied: "Please wake me even if it's in the middle of the night. If not, I will not be able to go by train tomorrow morning." However, there was no telephone call after that so I called the official residence of the Finance Minister about 12:30 A.M. and got the Finance Minister.

The Finance Minister said: "It is finally settled. The replenishment plan calls for 374,000,000 yen, and the reduction in taxes will amount to 135,000,000 yen. For the years 1937 and 1938, it was decided to increase appropriations 10,000,000 yen each year, and the Navy agreed to this. Concerning the general budget, the Navy requested that a reduction of 4,000,000 be made and that some sort of redemption be arranged for

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the remaining 9,000,000 yen. The Army still has 6,470,000 yen left and it is asking us to bear with this. I decided to concede to their wishes since it is necessary to conclude the general budget. Since time is necessary to calculate this, the Cabinet conference will probably be on the afternoon of the 11th. The Navy Minister has agreed to the replenishment plan and the Chief of the Naval General Staff also has been forced to consent to it. It is very regrettable that the amount of tax reduction did not go through as planned, but it cannot be helped. Please give the Prince my regards."

After a lapse of about thirty or forty minutes, the Railway Minister called up by phone and repeated the statement of the Finance Minister. I went to Okitsu on the 6:00 o'clock train on the morning of the 10th. I arrived there at 11:00 o'clock and related developments up to the present.

The Prince rejoiced greatly and said: "This is very fine. It should be satisfactory." I said: "Concerning the Army's quota of 6,000,000 yen in the general budget, 6,000,000 yen will be obtained from German reparations. Of the Navy's 9,000,000 yen, revenues from tobacco sales will be allotted toward it."

The Prince smiled, and said: "I guessed that the results would be something like that but it is very good. It was a great reduction but the question of the gold embargo is settled, the London Treaty is ratified, and the budget, reduction of taxes, and replenishment plan are successfully concluded, which is all very good. SAIONJI is very happy for the country. Please tell the

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Premier that it must have been a lot of work. Please extend my regards to him. Tell Railway Minister EGI, and especially Finance Minister INOUE, that SAIONJI appreciates their devoted efforts and feels happy for the country."

I returned to Tokyo on the 1:40 train. There are still various voices of dissent but the London Treaty, which was a problem is causing little discussion; since the replenishment plan and the reduction of taxes are decided upon, the trouble with the Army has subsided.

The Naval Conference and Prince Saionji

Chapter 11

Treaty Ratified - at a Price

Translated by Mr. Haruo Kawashima

The Premier's accident.

The Old Prince's Warning.

The Investiture of Temporary Premier SHIDEHARA.

On the 13th of November I attended the wedding ceremony of a relative. As the Premier was to leave for the Okayama district the following day to witness the Grand Maneuvers, I went to his official residence on the way home from the ceremony and spoke to him for approximately an hour and a half. As he (Premier) had an appointment to meet the Prince on the 22nd he stated the following to me:

"This time there will be a basic readjustment of administrative and financial (organs). I know that it will be a great bother to the War Minister but I will have to have him conduct a military reorganization. Well, anyway I am going to the Grand Maneuvers tomorrow." After this statement I took leave a little after 9:00 o'clock. Just as I was leaving I said, without seriously thinking: "take good care of yourself"; recently someone has been trailing the Premier and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; I hoped there would be no mishap.

The following morning, having some business with Prince KONOYE, I went to his place about 9:00 o'clock and was talking with him when, about 9:30, a phone call from the secretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs came saying: "The Premier's secretary also is phoning you;

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the Premier was shot with a pistol by a villian when he was on the point of leaving Tokyo Station. His condition is very serious."

I immediately reported this to Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu by phone. Immediately after this, I went to the Tokyo Station-Master's room, where the Premier was, to pay my respects. The place was in quite a commotion, so after taking in the general aspects I returned. I then again phoned the Prince, told him of the general situation, and said: "I was thinking of going to Okitsu and calling on you by this evening's train but if you are in a hurry I will come at once. Shall I watch his condition until tonight and then call on you or shall I call on you immediately? To which his reply was: "I want you to come immediately."

After this telephone conversation, I retraced my steps to the Tokyo Station, and meeting Railway Minister EGI, said: "The Prince says to come right away, so I am going to take the 1:00 o'clock special express to Okitsu." To which the Railway Minister said: "Everything will be done to maintain the public's peace of mind, and every effort will be made to straighten things out so please tell the Prince not to worry about it." And further: "The Premier's condition is just as you have seen, so please tell the Prince about it fully."

After making arrangements with KIDO I took the 1 o'clock train to Okitsu. Arriving in Shizuoka at 4:00 o'clock, I immediately went to Okitsu and spoke with the Prince for about an hour. The Prince seemed greatly surprised and said: "In such case as the present what I want you to watch out for first is by all means not to

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let the public think that on account of the Premier's condition a political change will occur. The public has a tendency in such cases to expect a change. In order to avert such expectations at the time when Premier HARA was assassinated at Tokyo Station, I made TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister at that time, go to Prince YAMAGATA and obtain his approval, and had him invested in the post of temporary Premier. Furthermore, in a case of this nature it is important that the Justice Minister be firm, so on this point too, I want you to keep on the alert. The next point is like saying something to a child, but it is necessary to guide the (political) party at such a truce so that there will not be any fights to gain power within the party or any other such irrelevant things. I want you to keep on a constant alert on these points. However it should not be a conspicuous meddling. I want you to speak with a feeling of saying it for the sake of emphasis."

I stated that this incident was perpetrated by a member of the Aikoku-sha (Nation Loving Society), a rightist organization, that the villain was of the group of IWATA, Ainosuke, and that this IWATA, was a henchman of former Railway Minister OGAWA. It is said that the act was in reprisal for the London Treaty, or was due to the depression, etc., but no matter what the reason it was a villainous act. SAIONJI said: "At any rate, when the public credits Admirals and Vice-Admirals with knowing quite a lot and when these same men, not knowing what they are talking about, are saying: 'violation of the powers of the supreme command; or: 'the London Treaty is adverse to the Nation; their statements will incite

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young uneducated men in no small way. I will have to ask you to be on the alert for any such things."

Seeing that I would be in time for the 7:00 o'clock super-express, "Tsubame" out of Numazu, I left Okitsu and went to Numazu and thence arrived in Tokyo at 9:00 o'clock. The following morning I called on Vice-Minister of Justice OHARA at the Justice Ministry and asked him the reasons for the crime. The night before, that is after I had returned from Okitsu, I had KIDO, Secretary to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, come to KONOYE's place late at night, and spoke to him, for the sake of emphasis, of the Prince's warning. At that time KONOYE said: "When I met IHOKI, Hyakuzo he said: 'Things may gradually start to occur from now on, but eventually something big will occur about February or March.'"

IHOKI is the "big noise" in the presumably rightist organization Seikyosha and is emphasizing "Japan and the Japanese". He is a hold over of the old faction that supported the former Prince KONOYE, who was a staunch supporter of the Chinese "ronin", and who is often seen going in and out of the KONOYE residence. It may be recalled that several days before former Premier HARA will be done away with." And just as he said, two or three days later HARA, Kei was assassinated at Tokyo Station. Therefore IHOKI's prediction seems rather ominous but it is also said that members of the Genyosha (Dark Ocean Society) are secretly plotting something. IHOKI's prediction, however is a troublesome one. Stressing these points, I said to the Vice-Minister of Justice: "I want you to be on the alert. Especially in cases where so-called rightist factions attempt to commit

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villainous deeds which will mar the nation's reputation". To this the Vice-Minister replied: "It is said that the rascal that perpetrated the crime was a henchman of IWATA, Ainosuke, and that at the time the London Treaty was being discussed he went around making all sorts of speeches. This IWATA was very intimate with ex-Railway Minister OGAWA, even to such an extent that when OGAWA was put to public trial he went along with him, a fact which can be proved by pictures in newspapers at that time. Such men are a problem. Something will have to be done to arrest such men and clear them out of the picture. Everything will be done toward that end." Such was what the Vice-Minister had to say relative to ex-Railway Minister OGAWA but just recently OGAWA came to KONOYE's place and said: "I was tried on account of SUZUKI. The reason for this was that SUZUKI, not wanting to give me an opportunity to become the President of the Seiyukai, had me arrested."

It so happens that Vice-Minister of Justice OHARA is a so-called henchman of HIRANUMI and SUZUKI, in other words of the anti-OGAWA faction. And it is a well-known fact that OGAWA is opposed to SUZUKI.

The Vice-Minister went on to say: "This group that belongs to the Mikokusha is meeting and listening to the talk of such people as Admiral KATO. And it would be hard to deny that the words of Admiral KATO had a stimulating effect upon them."

After this talk, I went to the Navy Vice-Minister and said: "If Admiral KATO has any connection with it, either directly or indirectly, or if his words had any stimulating effect on those who perpetrated the crime,

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his responsibility will be very heavy." To which Vice-Minister KOBAYASHI replied: "If by chance he has the slightest connection or anything of that nature he will have to be punished severely."

That morning it was decided at a Cabinet meeting to invest Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA with the office of temporary Premier, and the Imperial Sanction was given at 2:15 p.m. The Railway Minister informed me of what occurred at the Cabinet meeting, and of the fact that it (that SHIDEHARA was to be invested) had been decided, and requested me to report it to the Prince. I therefore immediately phoned the Prince at Okitsu and reported the particulars, and at the same time told him that I would leave Tokyo that night and arrive in Okitsu the following morning, that is on the morning of the 16th.

Temporary Premier SHIDEHARA said: "In case the Premier is unable to attend the Diet session I will not be able to accept the handling of all the loose ends. That is, I am just handling the business and temporarily for the sake of convenience and it would be distressing if I were compelled to act in the place of the Premier from the political standpoint. When I accepted the post, it was on the condition that I take over until the Diet session. However, within the Minseito they are saying various things as to how, if the Premier is unable to attend the Diet session, they are arranging to have Home Minister ADACHI take over the position of temporary Premier. There are some who say that ADACHI is unsuitable, and that it would be better to have UGAKI. And there are still others who say that WAKATSUKI should be brought back. Different opinions are arising here and there.

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Just recently the Chief Secretary of the Minseito came to me and said: 'Neither EGI or ADACHI will be able to calm things down. And speaking from a broad viewpoint, I have been saying to people, not mentioning any names, that a person qualified to meet existing conditions should be brought forth. That person does not necessarily have to come from the Minseito but may be an outsider, for in order to pass through this period of stress no set restrictions can be laid down. Therefore it will be all right even to have an outsider. A person with the following qualifications is necessary; possession of the high esteem of the public; ability not only to clean up administration and to settle issues with the Privy Council while remaining in its good graces. If a person with such qualifications were to come from the party ranks, all the better, but an outsider will also be all right'. So saying, the Chief Secretary of the Minseito evidently was pointing at General UGAKI."

Probably those of the ADACHI faction look upon the temporary Premier, SHIDEHARA, as nothing but a puppet, with Railway Minister EGI in the background holding the actual power. And in actuality SHIDEHARA'S temporary Premiership is nothing but EGI acting as the Premier. If the situation be thought of in this way there are many people who hold a grudge because of Minister EGI's power. On the other hand, there is the consideration that when the question of investing a temporary Premier was brought up at the Cabinet meeting Home Minister ADACHI said: "There is no need to place a temporary Premier in office in a hurry. Why wouldn't it be better to watch the condition of the Premier and then deliberate

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on the question." So saying, not only the Home Minister was in opposition to investiture but also Communications Minister KOIZUMI. And it was at this time too that Commerce and Industry Minister TANAKA and Justice Minister WATANABE put forth a suggestion to postpone investiture of a temporary Premier. In the words of Railway Minister EGI: "In this present case it is extremely urgent that a temporary Premier be invested. Whatever happens, office administration must be supervised and proposals for Imperial Sanction will need the Premier's signature. Therefore one single moment cannot be lost. For the advancement of political administration the selection should be made as soon as possible." Such a person as Railway Minister EGI, who is well versed in political administration, can be understood to be using his persuasion not to lose any time in the selection (of a Premier), but Home Minister ADACHI, who has not had very much experience relative to political administration, naturally would not think it to be of such urgent necessity and at the same time he seemed to be extremely cautious towards EGI. However, Prince SAIONJI seemed to be extremely pleased over the fact that a temporary Premier had been decided upon immediately. I went to Okitsu and spoke of the procedure (for the selection of the temporary Premier) and also of the general condition of the Premier, to which Prince SAIONJI replied: "The Premier may recover in time (for the Diet Session) at the same time he may not make a complete recovery. It was a very good thing that SHIDEHARA was decided on in the emergency. Furthermore, if the Premier does not recover in time to attend the Diet session, I think you had better ask the

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opinion of the elder, Baron YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo, and others." And in his conversation he also said: "Of course EGI will have to play a subordinate role but we will have to have him work his hardest. Such a person as EGI will in the near future have an opportunity to step into the limelight, so at the present we will have to have him work in the background."

When I had met Railway Minister EGI previously, he had said: "When you meet the Prince, kindly tell him that there is absolutely no truth in what is being said to the effect that there is an EGI faction or an ADACHI faction within the party, and that EGI will exert his efforts toward unifying matters, so he can rest assured." This short conversation I mentioned to the Prince. The Prince in reply to this said: "Please extend my regards to EGI and ask him to be on the alert so that troubles will not arise." Also extend my regards to everyone else, especially to temporary Premier SHIDEMARU, from whom I have received a telegram." Just prior to my departure the Prince said: "If the Government does not take good care of UGAKI, and if he should resign and get out into the world, I tell you the aftermath is going to be something hard to clean up." To this I asked: "If I should meet Minister UGAKI he will probably ask me again, so what shall I tell him?" The Prince said: "I want you to tell him that SAIONJI is expecting him to exert great efforts in regard to the Government's action in this case."

I returned to Tokyo and met both the Railway Minister and the Foreign Minister. After that, wondering how the investigation in regard to the culprit was going

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at the court, I went to the Justice Ministry and called on the Vice-Minister, but as he was absent I met and asked Chief Secretary SASAKI about the situation. It did not seem that things had advanced to any great extent. I felt that the courts are extremely stringent in their actions against the leftists; whereas, with the rightists the courts are not only very lenient but even have a tendency to protect them. I felt that this (tardiness of the court in prosecuting the rightist assassin) was due to the influence of HIRANUMI, the Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council, and his followers, who disliked and held in contempt the political parties. He must be feeling that the occurrence of this crime would be ascribed to the evils inherent in the politics of the present-day political parties and that the public would think that the growing evils of party politics had infuriated the youth (the assassin) into committing the crime. He might even be thinking that it was a perfect case, anathematizing political parties. I thought his action on this case further confirmed his past (rightist) attitude. Moreover, the culprit (the assassin) is affiliated with Kokuhon-sha (an ultra-nationalistic organization headed by HIRANUMI). And it is a fact that he was lodging at the home of an influential member of Kokuhon-sha. And the story that was heard indirectly of Admiral KATO's ire (over the situation) is also an actual fact. The pistol that was used in the crime was the property of a certain MATSUMOTO who lent the weapon for the occasion. This too is a proven fact. Another actual fact is that the perpetrator of the crime, on the night

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previous to the deed, went on a wild party with a number of friends. Where the money for this wild orgy came from can be imagined. And if this were to be investigated more thoroughly it would positively bring to light the fact that somebody is behind it all. So it is true that there is a certain power within the courts which will not allow vigorous action. Heretofore the Kokuhonsha, which is controlled by HIRANUMA, has had as its members military men, court procurators, or officials of the Justice Ministry. It is uncontested that there prevails an inclination among members of this organization to see only the evils of political parties and to anathematize political parties without considering the intrinsic significance of their raison d'etre. Therefore it can be understood why procurators and justice officials hold such an attitude in such cases.

Thinking of such circumstances, I again went to Okitsu on the 19th and spoke (to the Prince) of the general trend. At this time I said to the Prince: "I believe that the Premier will recover in time for the Diet session but I do not believe it will be possible for him to attend. Before coming here I met Baron YAMAMOTO and asked him, in case the Premier is unable to attend the Diet session, who is going to take over the Premier's duties. To which he said: 'At all events there are various views to the effect that ADACHI will take over, or that WAKATSUKI will, or that UGAKI will, but I do not believe that this is the time to discuss such a thing. The recovery of Premier HIRAGUCHI is extremely good, and I confidently think that he will be well in time to attend the Diet session. There is nothing to do but to work in the

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belief that he will recover in time. There are various movements but I will manage somehow to keep them under control, so kindly tell the Prince to rest assured that no commotions will occur within the Party!."

Furthermore I said to the Prince: "If by any chance Premier HIRAGUCHI is unable to attend the Diet Session Minister UGAKI will be presented to the Diet as Acting Premier. If UGAKI is intimidated in the least at present he will go out into the world and be welcomed with open arms by the Army as well as by an intermediary Cabinet of the HIRANUMI faction. Such action will incite the rightist organizations to movements which will result in trouble in the future. Therefore in this case UGAKI must be appeased to a certain extent and thereby influenced to reorganize the military and to replace both the President and the Vice-President of the Privy Council. For this job I think that Minister UGAKI is most suitable. If you were to speak to him I think he would make up his mind. With these considerations in mind, do you not think it a very good idea to bring out UGAKI if HIRAGUCHI is unable to attend the Diet session."

To this the Prince said: "I think that there are certain people within the Minseito who would think it an excellent idea. What you say is true. There may be something in your argument." So I then said: "SHIDEHARA will not accept. Not only that, SHIDEHARA is a valuable man, and we do not want to mar his record. And as you have often stated he is a potential person to be placed close to the Emperor and a man to work in the Privy Council." The Prince then said: "I do not know whether it can or cannot be done in Japan, but in Occidental

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countries a person like SHIDEMARU could be utilized as an elder statesman in the field of diplomacy, and even if he were not in a set position the diplomatic group in Tokyo, having associated with him heretofore, would show respect for him. At the same time, to have the Foreign Ministry bring all matters pertaining to foreign affairs to this person, and not let foreign affairs run off on a tangent, would, I think, from the standpoint of the welfare of the nation, be of extreme importance. But I don't suppose that this could ever be done in Japan. It is not that I am trying to follow the theories of THIERS, but there were always carriages of foreign ministers and ambassadors in front of THIERS' house and it was always a lively place." He finally concluded by saying: "Please give my regards to everybody."

After this I spoke to him relative to the plans to crush the power of rightists with which the Prince was in agreement. I then returned to Tokyo and met Railway Minister EGI and the Foreign Minister. Upon speaking to Railway Minister EGI about the talk regarding the attitude of the courts he said: "That can't be true. Why don't you meet Procurator KANEYAMA directly."

The Premier's condition was gradually improving day by day, so much so that it was thought that he might be able to attend the Diet Session.

The Rightist Faction and the Justice Ministry.

General UGAKI's Movement.

The Question of the Kinseito President.

The following day I met Foreign Minister SHIDEMARU,

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Acting Premier. Baron SHIDEHARA said to me: "The talk you spoke about the other day regarding the officials of the Justice Ministry has somehow gotten around to the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, and it seems as though he has spoken of it to the Chief Justice. I therefore called the Vice-Minister of Justice to my official residence and, with the Chief Secretary there, said: 'There are some justice officials who are sheltering the rightists, and furthermore, in regard to this recent incident, there is an inclination to let a certain "big shot" go free. Extreme measures are being taken toward the leftists but there is a tendency toward clemency for the rightists. Such a policy is very unfair.'

To this the Vice-Minister very angrily responded: 'The other day I told HARADA that the rightists would be severely punished. That is, they will be handled strictly but justly. And having said this to HARADA, for you to say such things is positively insulting to the justice officials.' So if he (Vice-Minister) should meet you (Harada) I know he will try to blame you." So I said: "Is that so. Well then, I will meet the Vice-Minister."

The reason for my speaking to the Foreign Minister the other day in regard to the apparent attitude in the Justice Ministry toward the rightists was to have him use my ideas for reference in his position as acting Premier. However, for the Foreign Minister to bring out my name in talking to the Vice-Minister indicates that the Foreign Minister is administratively rather than politically minded. This slightly annoyed me but knowing that something had to be done in regard to the Vice-Minister of Justice, else it would not be for the future good, I

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immediately phoned the Justice Ministry and made an appointment to meet the Vice-Minister. The Vice-Minister told me to come and upon my going and meeting him he said: "As a matter of fact I've been wanting to meet you since the other day, and I phoned you several times but you weren't in."

This being his salutation, I started the conversation by saying: "I explained to Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA the other day the reason for my going to you and explaining things to you for the sake of emphasis. I had therefore heard all the circumstances from you but the Premier, when he called you, had a faulty recollection of the talk I had with him and by mistake took only the reason I gave him, forgetting all about the talk I had with you. I heard that you, therefore, knowing all the circumstances, became terribly enraged. However this situation arose out of the circumstances I have stated, so I hope you will not take it to heart."

The Vice-Minister, understanding very well, said: "Hereafter in order that mistakes may not be made I will meet you at any time; I want you to come directly to me." So I also said: "In the event that there may be a misunderstanding I will come and talk matters over with you." The Vice-Minister then said: "Justice officials are doing things fairly so I want you to bear that in mind." After he said this I took my leave.

The following day, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had returned from his trip with the Emperor, and as I had not met him for quite some time I called on him at his official residence in Takanawa. At that time I spoke to him of the recent condition of Premier HAMAGUCHI and told

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him that various maneuvers were being carried on, on the surmise that Premier HAMAGUCHI would not be well enough to attend the Diet Session. At the same time, although I had already spoken of it through KIDO, I repeated Prince SAKONJI's opinion in detail: "It is not so much because of the value of Gen. UGAKI as a person (that we want to use him), but if a general as brazen--in a certain sense--as he, were to be let out into the world it is to be feared that he would be the cause of much damage. If UGAKI were to resign from the present Cabinet through dissatisfaction, and go out into the world, he would on the one hand solidify the Army, and on the other be used by rightist organizations. The foolish public would think this to be on account of his great power and public opinion would move accordingly. Thus a barrier would be thrown up between parliamentary politics and the so-called military; we are afraid that the group that is anxious to set up an interim Cabinet will come forth with an Imperial decision theory and thereby use this as an opportunity to destroy party politics. For this reason it is necessary to keep Gen. UGAKI satisfied, so that he will remain in the Cabinet, and at the same time reorganize the Army to a certain extent. Also, we want to keep him out of the reach of the so-called HIRNUMA faction of the rightists, the more so because in crushing HIRNUMA we will have him clean up the Privy Council. And on this point, if Premier HAMAGUCHI is unable to take back his post he (Ugaki) will be elected as President of the Minseito temporarily and thereafter be invested as Premier. This seems to be the general way of doing it because Home Minister ADACHI is not of Premier calibre. If Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA

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should by chance accept, IWASAKI's approval would still have to be obtained. And SHIDEHARA, being very indifferent to the situation, it is clear that he does not hold the slightest aspiration to take over the post. According to President of the South Manchuria Railway SENGOKU, possible candidates are SHIDEHARA, UGAKI and YAMAMOTO, Tatsuo. Baron YAMAMOTO, considered along the lines of party politics, is a suitable successor, but from the common man's point of view he is said to be cold-hearted and would therefore not be able to gather public favor. Even if he were to accept he would probably lay down some irksome conditions. From this point of view it would be difficult to choose YAMAMOTO. According to SENGOKU: "If HAMAGUCHI is unable to attend the Diet session why wouldn't it be all right to make SHIDEHARA the temporary Premier. The present day political parties have no right to stipulate that the person selected has to come from a certain political party. It would be better for them to reflect upon themselves!"

I went to speak to SENGOKU before I had met MIKINO; the Prince had asked off-handedly: "I wonder what SENGOKU's opinions are?" For this reason I had called on Sengoku.

Unfounded Rumors in regard to the Succeeding Premier.

I then went to Okitsu and reported in detail the preceding talk. To which the Prince said: "I guess it is better to watch developments a little longer."

After returning from the Prince's place and listening to newspaper reporters and the secret propaganda being spread within political circles, I learned that they are

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saying that Prince SAIONJI is not satisfied with ADACHI, or that UGAKI, being a soldier, is unsuitable, or that WAKATSUKI should be put in, or that so and so said that HARADA said something to somebody; various other rumors also are flying around which are the cause of great distress. However such cases are always accompanied by unfounded rumors. There was the case of a very close friend of Home Minister ADACHI, from his own native village, who came all the way to Tokyo and asked me: "What is it all about? If ADACHI is not to be trusted by the Prince why did you let him start campaigning in the first place." To this I replied: "The Prince is not a person to say such things regardlessly. And under a policy of unification of parties he is not the type of person to stop anybody who has been recommended to the Presidency. At any rate in this present-day case there is no reason for his stating this or that in regard to such a question."

He then said: "Then what is your personal opinion?" "He might be a suitable person, but whatever I may think is not what Prince SAIONJI thinks so I would not be able to say anything."

So saying, I warded him off, but there were many other instances of an undisguised nature which were truly distressing and I am not merely mentioning them as being distressing to me. After this occasion I met both Home Minister ADACHI and War Minister UGAKI and said: "At present there are a great many unfounded rumors which may be a nuisance to both of your esteemed selves but they are distressing to me also. You may hear various things but, as you well know, Prince SAIONJI would never think of saying such things. And I also would never say any-

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thing of a rabid nature which would reflect on my position, so I want you to understand in all truthfulness that such things are being said without my knowledge. Just as long as you two understand we naturally do not care whether such things are said." To this both Home Minister ADACHI and War Minister UGAKI replied: "We are well aware of the facts, so please rest assured."

The Condition of the Premier.

Chief Secretary MORI's Visit to the Prince.

Vice-Minister YOSHIDA's Concern.

The Chientao Problem.

The Foreign Minister and Chief Secretary MORI.

The Question of the Successor to Vice-Admiral IMAMURA.

Regardless of the fact that Premier HATAGUCHI's condition is gradually taking a turn for the better, unfounded rumors are still prevalent. When I gave a farewell party for Ministers ARITA and MITSUNAGA at the Horyu, such people as MORI also came. At that time MORI called me to a separate room and said: "It is said that Premier HATAGUCHI is in a grave condition. Pus has formed around the bullet wound and after being treated he has contracted diabetes, which makes it very difficult for the wound to heal. Since being attacked he has grown very fearful and is suffering a nervous breakdown without being able to take enough nutrition. On account of this it is doubtful that he will last throughout December. It is said that he is in a very grave condition."

So I replied: "I have not heard anything to that effect so don't you think it is some kind of propaganda?"

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But to make sure, I immediately sought confirmation. And, to be sure, it was nothing but propaganda for somebody's advantage.

At that time MORI also said: "The President has returned and I stated to him that I wanted to go to the Prince's place, so he wants me to go. Will you phone to Okitsu right away and ask what day will be convenient." When I asked the Prince what day would be convenient, he said: "Make it the 8th."

Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, YOSHIDA was worried that the views of the Seiyukai in regard to diplomacy are sometimes extremely out of line with the truth, and on account of this he came to me and said: "Before MORI goes to the Prince I want you to warn the Prince that when MORI goes he should warn the Seiyukai to take a more serious attitude towards diplomacy."

Vice-Minister YOSHIDA was worried most about political conflicts becoming more severe, and lest with this there should be a mingling in diplomatic problems which would not be for the benefit of Japanese diplomacy abroad. Even at present there are times when problems arise which do not bring about pleasant results. I would like somehow for problems of this nature not to arise. To cite an example: recently, on the Chientao problem, the Government-General of Korea insisted upon using the Army to restore public peace in Chientao, while the Foreign Ministry absolutely insisted that armed force should not be used. Thus the two opinions did not coincide. But finally the Foreign Ministry won out without moving of a single soldier and the incident was in general, settled. The Chinese side took a very cooperative attitude and

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everybody was happy, but the Seiyukai said that it wanted to hear the procedure in the Chientao problem from the Foreign Minister. Four or five main figures representing the Seiyukai came to the Foreign Ministry in order to see the Foreign Minister but the Vice-Minister, hearing of it from MORI, said: "Just when the problem is being ironed out, if the Seiyukai has come to question the Government's attitude, and if, on account of that, newspapers carry argumentative articles, this will damage good feeling from the standpoint of diplomacy and will bring about undesirable results. At this time this problem should not be stirred up because there is everything to lose and nothing to gain from the standpoint of Japan's national policy. Therefore it should be considered seriously for the sake of the nation. If they want to hear something in regard to matters of that nature, the Chief Secretary should come and meet the Minister and ask about the situation. But whether the Minister will or will not meet him, his approval will have to be obtained. Please have them wait a little while."

Vice-Minister YOSHIDA, having said this to MORI, went to Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA and said: "You must meet MORI." To which Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA replied: "Even if I were to meet such a person as MORI he would not understand and it would be a waste of time, so I do not want to meet him."

Vice-Minister YOSHIDA then said: "Of course it will be distressing to you, but if you were to meet him the circumstances would be cleared up, while if you were to refuse to meet him the situation would become complicated."

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In the meantime MORI made a second request (to meet the Minister) so Vice-Minister YOSHIDA said: "The Minister says he will not meet you so I will meet you in his stead." To which MORI said: "I am representing the Party and not running upon a child's errand, so I will not be chased back with a half-hearted answer. I would like to have it written out."

So the Vice-Minister said to the Minister: "The Seiyukai wants the procedure in the Chientao Problem written out and reported to them. What shall we do." To this Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA said: "If we give a written report to the Seiyukai the other parties will also want one, not to mention the Privy Council and the House of Peers. If one party is given such a written statement then all other parties will have to be given one, which will complicate things, which of course will not be so good." So saying, the Minister refused, and made it difficult for the Vice-Minister.

The Vice-Minister then said to MORI: "The Minister does not seem to be very enthusiastic (about giving out a written statement). Will you wait a little while?" And coming to me the Vice-Minister said: "Whatever the justification may be, SHIDEHARA's attitude only sharpens the problem that much more. I wonder if there isn't some other method."

At one time when I had gone to Okitsu and spoken to the Prince about SHIDEHARA's not wanting to meet MORI, the Prince had said: "I think it must have been on some problem in regard to the United States that SHIDEHARA met MORI and others and explained things to them carefully, but he was evidently double-crossed and made the target

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for attack, which caused him quite a bit of trouble. The result was that this got abroad and caused still more trouble, if I remember correctly. It is probably because of this unpleasant experience that SHIDEHARA does not want to meet MORT. For Vice-Minister YOSHIDA's reference I told him of this talk I had with the Prince and said: "Why don't you ask Minister SHIDEHARA whether he had an unpleasant experience of this nature previously."

The present-day attitude of the Seiyukai toward diplomacy is certainly absurd, and the intelligentsia certainly think that they are a little too good. There was the time too, when the London Treaty was being discussed, that they tried to put over the idea that the United States was going to attack the very next day. Furthermore, members of the Yoyokai of the Navy, along with certain members of the House of Peers, and certain members of the Seiyukai, are said to have established the Ikan-kai (Regretful Society) and to be holding gatherings in commemoration of their regret that the London Treaty was signed.

In regard to the recent replacement of the Naval Aide-de-Camp, the Naval General Staff was planning to put in a certain Navy officer who had been the spear-head of the opposition to the Imperial Sanction. Thus it (Navy) was planning to make him the successor to Aide-de-Camp IIMURA. However, the Grand Chamberlain, knowing something about this person, put in a protest, and asked the Navy to reconsider. For this reason the successor to Vice-Admiral IIMURA is still undecided. It might be said that this is an after-effect of the London Treaty, and that this may have an effect on the next conference, so I am of the belief that great precautions should be taken

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in regard to this matter.

(Heretofore the ratification of the Irish Free State had been held up, but finally on 31 December 1930 it was entrusted to the Foreign Ministry in London. The long-drawn-out London Treaty was thereby put into effect, and through it was inaugurated an era of mutual understanding between Japan, England and the United States.

It so happened that this occurred on the last day of the year, when all of the Japanese Government officers were on a year-end holiday. The official report of the ratification of the Irish Free State came to the Foreign Office on the morning of the 31st. The person in charge at the Foreign Ministry immediately took steps to have this officially publicized. Early on the morning of New Year's Day an official telegram came from Ambassador MATSUDAIRA, stating that the ratification had been deposited, so on that same day it was published in the Government Gazette Extra that the Treaty was now in effect.